



The 'vigorous rule' of Bishop Lull: between Bonifatian mission and Carolingian church control

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This paper argues that the reputation of St Boniface, one of the 'founders of Christian Europe', needs to be understood in relation to the career of Lull of Mainz, the saint's pupil and successor. It analyses Lull's literary, pastoral and missionary interests, as well as his political networks, to illustrate how he helped give form to the legends of Boniface and, in particular, Willibald's Vita Bonifatii and the Bonifatian letter collections. Study of the commemoration of Lull, principally in Mainz, Fulda, Hersfeld and Malmesbury, also reveals much about the ways Lull used the cult of Boniface to pursue a 'vigorous rule' over his flock in Mainz and in the process alienate many contemporaries.

Divine portents were seen in Germany in 786: a sharp chill froze birds mid-flight; bows of light were seen in the sky; and the snow in March fell red as blood.¹ People saw in these signs the foretelling of turbulent times ahead, of Charlemagne's victory in Bavaria, or even of the end of the world. To some annalists, however, the significance of the signs was more modest: they foretold the death that winter of Archbishop Lull of Mainz (754–86), one of the last figures of the so-called 'Anglo-Saxon missions' to the continent that helped to shape Christendom in the north.² In Fulda, the community of monks committed Lull's name to

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¹ *Annales Laureshamensis*, s.a. 786, ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH Scriptores* 1 (Hanover, 1826), pp. 30–9, at p. 33; *Annales Petiaviani*, s.a. 786, ed. Pertz, *MGH Scriptores* 1, pp. 16–18, at p. 17; *Fragmentum annalium Chesnii*, s.a. 786, ed. Pertz, *MGH Scriptores* 1, pp. 33–4, at p. 33.

² On Lull see M. Tangl, 'Studien zur Neuausgabe der Briefe des hl. Bonifatius und Lullus, Teil 2', in W. Eggert (ed.), *Das Mittelalter in Quellenkunde und Diplomatik. Ausgewählte Schriften* 1

their institutional memory,³ while in Salzburg the Irishman Virgil added Lull's name into his *Liber vitae*.⁴ The archbishop had for nearly forty years continued the work of the martyr St Boniface, shaping the *memoria* of the saint and challenging standards in the Carolingian church. He was, as Michael Tangl argued in 1917, 'no insignificant successor [to Boniface] as bishop of Mainz'.⁵ Yet while saints' cults and literature quickly emerged to commemorate other prominent heirs of Boniface – figures such as Willibald and Wynnebald in Bavaria, Leoba and Sturm in Hesse, and Gregory in Utrecht – Lull's own career was not subject to similar treatment until the eleventh century. This uneven treatment of Lull hints, not at a lack of interest in the bishop, but rather at long-running debates about the nature of a career once described in the ninth century as 'vigorous'.⁶ In what ways, then, had Lull developed the work of Boniface to provoke such debates? And how did Lull's own interests affect the image of Boniface evident in the eighth-century sources?

Tracing the influence of Lull on the representations of Boniface contributes to a growing historiographical trend which emphasizes the contextualization of narratives, like Willibald's *Vita Bonifatii*, over the subjects of those accounts.⁷ These contexts may be no less 'constructed' than their narratives, but the juxtaposition of the two creates new possible interpretations of texts. St Boniface has attracted sustained interest from generations of modern scholars as one of the medieval founders

(Graz, 1966), pp. 178–240, at pp. 178–95 (originally in *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 41 [1917], pp. 23–101); T. Schieffer, 'Angelsachsen und Franken. Zwei Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des 8. Jahrhunderts', *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1950* 20 (Wiesbaden, 1951), pp. 1327–1539. Some useful observations about Lull were also made by Wilhelm Levison in his *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century. The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in the Hilary Term 1943* (Oxford, 1946). See also J.T. Palmer, 'Warwickshire and the Eighth-Century Missions to Germany', *BBC Legacies* <http://www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/immig_emig/england/coventry_warwick/article_1.shtml>, September, 2003.

³ *Annales Fuldenses antiquissimi*, ed. F. Kurze, *MGH SRG* 7 (Hanover, 1891), pp. 136–8, at p. 137; R. Corradini, 'The Rhetoric of Crisis: *Computus* and the *Liber annalis* in Early Ninth-Century Fulda', in R. Corradini, M. Diesenburger and H. Reimitz (eds), *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts*, The Transformation of the Roman World 12 (Leiden, 2003), pp. 269–321, at pp. 287–8.

⁴ *Monumenta necrologica monasterii s. Petri Salisburgensis*, ed. S. Herzberg-Fränkell, *MGH Necrologia Germaniae* 2 (Berlin, 1904), pp. 3–64, at p. 26; R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 178.

⁵ Tangl, 'Studien . . . 2', p. 179: 'er war als Bischof von Mainz kein unbedeutender Nachfolger'.

⁶ *Ex Megenharti Fuldensis sermone de sancto Ferruccio*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH Scriptores* 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), pp. 148–50, at p. 150.

⁷ Amongst the ever-growing bibliography, see: P.J. Geary, 'Saints, Scholars and Society: The Elusive Goal', in P.J. Geary (ed.), *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 1994), pp. 9–29; Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000); I.N. Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400–1050* (Harlow, 2001); W. Pohl, 'History in Fragments: Montecassino's Politics of Memory', *EME* 10:3 (2001), pp. 343–74; McKitterick, *History and Memory*.

of Europe but, even in the most positive analyses of his career, Lull's role in promoting that reputation in the first place has remained sketchy at best.⁸ It was, however, Lull who commissioned the first *Vita Bonifatii* and perhaps also encouraged the first collection of Boniface's correspondence. The bishop was indubitably influenced by his predecessor and maintained some continuity of purpose in his work. None the less, times change and the situation Lull faced in the 770s, for example, scarcely compared with Boniface's in the 730s, even if the intentions of the two bishops were similar.⁹ The increasing strength of the Carolingian family; the development of royal *Kirchenpolitik*; the expansion of the Frankish frontiers; all these things changed the world in which the 'Anglo-Saxon missions' functioned. To study Boniface, therefore, one first needs to understand the relationship between Lull, the cult of the Boniface, and the changing Carolingian world of the eighth century.

Sources and contexts for remembering Lull

A wide range of sources facilitate the study of Lull, including letters, charters and a number of saints' Lives. Almost all of these come from Mainz or Fulda, Boniface's own monastery. Unlike St Boniface, however, Lull left no spiritual heir in Hesse who felt driven to collect together these sources or commemorate his predecessor. In 786 the vacant see of Mainz was quickly filled by Riculf, a chaplain from Charlemagne's court, who made no effort to associate himself with his predecessor. Although Riculf showed some interest in Lull's monastery of Hersfeld, he chose to build the monastery of St Alban's in Mainz, and royal patronage for that new site quickly diminished Hersfeld's significance as a Hessian monastic centre.¹⁰ The new archbishop's friendship with the great Anglo-Saxon scholar Alcuin had perhaps brought the plans of the Anglo-Saxon missions to his attention, but Alcuin himself was more distant commentator than active member of frontier society and thus his importance in this context can be overstated.¹¹ The connection between Lull and Riculf was sufficiently weak

⁸ In addition to the literature in n. 2 on Boniface, see also: T. Schieffer, *Winfried-Bonifatius und die Christliche Grundlegung Europas* (Freiburg, 1954; 2nd edn Darmstadt, 1972); *Sankt Bonifatius. Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundertsten Todestag* (Fulda, 1954); T. Reuter (ed.), *The Greatest Englishman: Essays on St Boniface and the Church at Crediton* (Exeter, 1980); L.E. von Padberg, *St Bonifatius: Missionar und Reformator* (Munich, 2003).

⁹ For a similar case, see that of St Anskar and his successor Rimbert: J.T. Palmer, 'Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii* and Scandinavian Mission in the Ninth Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 55:2 (2004), pp. 235–56.

¹⁰ See F. Staab, 'Die Königin Fastrada', in R. Berndt (ed.), *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt karolingische Kultur, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhessischen Kirchengeschichte* 80 (Mainz, 1997), pp. 183–217.

¹¹ Cf. Schieffer, 'Angelsachsen und Franken', p. 1526.

for the latter's appointment to be a firm break from the recent past and the Anglo-Saxon missions. To the populations of Hesse and Thuringia, the connection with Boniface and his circle after 786 was more spiritual than personal.

There are over fifty letters to or from Lull and his circle in Mainz and Würzburg.¹² The majority of these were apparently collected together for the first time in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 751, a mid-ninth-century compilation of the Bonifatian correspondence from Mainz.¹³ Within the manuscript, the ordering of Boniface's letters was derived from the earlier Fulda manuscript, Karlsrühe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Rastatt 22, but with a number of further letters – principally Lull's – inserted at apparently random points throughout.¹⁴ There is a stylistic break in the middle of Vienna 751 following the inclusion of some Aldhelmian poetry and some simple decorations which possibly marked the end of an original phase of production.¹⁵ Most of Lull's early letters which can be dated before 754 are included before this centrepiece, while most of the letters associated with his episcopacy are included thereafter and indeed dominate the remaining folios. That the manuscript then ends with a selection of early ninth-century letters associated with Mainz in further hands seems to suggest that this was a compilation added to in several phases. There are features in Vienna 751 which imply it was used in part as a collection of epistolary exemplars.¹⁶ These are, however, mainly restricted to the first part of the compilation and the latinity of Lull's letters is often so poor that it is perhaps preferable to see in their use an active interest in Lull himself in the mid-ninth century.

The second half of the compilation may reflect an interest in the wider historical community of Boniface, which might in turn suggest the involvement at some level of Hrabanus Maurus.¹⁷ Amongst the

¹² Boniface *et al.*, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. M. Tangl, *MGH Epistolae selectae in usum scholarum* 1 (Berlin, 1916).

¹³ Tangl, 'Studien . . . I', p. 68. For a useful facsimile of the manuscript see *Sancti Bonifatii epistolae*, ed. F. Unterkircher, *Codices selecti phototypice impressi* 24 (Graz, 1971).

¹⁴ On the relationship between the earliest manuscripts of the Bonifatian correspondence, see Tangl, 'Studien . . . I', pp. 68–97.

¹⁵ *Sancti Bonifatii epistolae*, ed. Unterkircher, fols 39v–42r.

¹⁶ A. Orchard, 'Old Sources, New Resources: Finding the Right Formula for Boniface', *ASE* 30 (2001), pp. 15–38, at pp. 18–19.

¹⁷ McKitterick, 'Anglo-Saxon Missionaries', p. 10. On Hrabanus see: R. Kottje, 'Hrabanus Maurus – "Praeceptor Germaniae"?', *Deutsches Archiv* 31 (1975), pp. 534–45; R. Kottje and H. Zimmermann, *Hrabanus Maurus: Lehrer, Abt und Bischof* (Wiesbaden, 1982); B.-S. Albert, 'Raban Maur, l'unité de l'empire et ses relations avec les Carolingiens', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 86 (1991), pp. 5–44; M. de Jong, 'The Empire as *ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and Biblical *historia* for Rulers', in Hen and Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past* pp. 191–226; J.T. Palmer, 'The Frankish Cult of Martyrs and the Case of the Two Saints Boniface', *Revue Bénédictine* 114:3–4 (2004), pp. 326–48, at pp. 338–43.

ninth-century letters in Vienna 751, the latest only just pre-dates the archiepiscopacy of Hrabanus in Mainz (847–56). The archbishop was a native of Mainz and had also been abbot of Fulda and a pupil of Alcuin. More than many people who succeeded to Boniface's work, Hrabanus was a true heir to the pastoral and intellectual legacies of the Anglo-Saxons. It was, for example, under Hrabanus at Fulda in the 830s and 840s that for the first time a number of writers had positive things to say about Lull as Boniface's heir.¹⁸ It is important to remember that the letters are not just individual sources for Lull, but also that their preservation is one result of the impact that the Anglo-Saxon had had on his diocese.

After 786 there was little evident interest in Lull until the 1060s. Developments began when around 1063 Otloh of Freising described Lull as *sanctus* for the first time in a new *Vita Bonifatii*, written for the monks in Fulda as a response to an argument with the archbishop of Mainz over tithes.¹⁹ Within a decade the celebrated annalist Lampert of Hersfeld, who was also involved in the tithe dispute, built upon the renewed interest in Boniface and wrote a *Vita Lulli*.²⁰ A twelfth-century manuscript – Erlangen-Nürnberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 321 – included both of these new works together, alongside the ninth-century *vitae* on Boniface's friends Burchard of Würzburg, Leoba of Tauberbischofsheim, Sturm of Fulda, Wigbert of Fritzlar and Gregory of Utrecht.²¹ Again it was an interest in the relationships between Bonifatian communities within Hesse and Thuringia that seems to have been the catalyst for interest in Lull.

In his native Britain, meanwhile, no one commemorated Lull until William of Malmesbury recalled a short poem praising the saint's virtue in the *Gesta regum Anglorum* (c.1125).²² William was greatly interested

¹⁸ Brun Candidus, *Vita Aegil*, ch. 2, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores* 15.1, pp. 222–37, at p. 225; Rudolf, *Vita Leobae*, ch. 19, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores* 15.1, pp. 118–31, at p. 130; *Ex Megenharti Fuldensis sermone de sancto Ferrucio*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH Scriptores* 15.1, pp. 148–50.

¹⁹ Otloh, *Vita Bonifatii* I.25, ed. W. Levison, *MGH SRG* 57, pp. 111–217, at p. 138. On Otloh's *vita* see K.F. Morrison, 'The Structure of Holiness in Otloh's *Vita Bonifatii* and Ebo's *Vita Ottonis*', in K. Pennington and R. Somerville (eds), *Law, Church, and Society: Essays in Honour of Stephan Kuttner* (Pennsylvania, 1977), pp. 131–56.

²⁰ Lampert, *Vita Lulli*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SRG* 38 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1894), pp. 307–40. On Lampert see T. Struve, 'Lampert von Hersfeld: Persönlichkeit und Weltbild eines Geschichtsschreibers am Beginn des Investiturstreits', *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 19 (1969), pp. 1–123, continued in *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 20 (1970), pp. 32–142. On the relationship between Mainz, Fulda and Hersfeld in the eleventh century, see T. Vogtherr, 'Die Reichklöster Corvey, Fulda und Hersfeld', in Weinfurter and Siefarth, *Die Salier und das Reich* 2, pp. 429–64, esp. pp. 445–7.

²¹ It is worth noting here that Lampert himself listed the *vitae* about Boniface, Leoba and Sturm amongst his sources, and had also clearly read the *Vita Wigberti*: Lampert, *Vita Lulli*, ch. 27, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 340; Struve, 'Lampert von Hersfeld (B)', p. 125.

²² William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, I.85, eds R.A.B. Mynors, R. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, *Oxford Medieval Texts*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998), pp. 120–1.

in Boniface's role in England's past as someone who had chastised immoral kings and encouraged high standards in the English church from afar.²³ In this work Lull was little more than a footnote as Boniface's successor, made significant because Lull had himself been educated in Malmesbury for a short time.²⁴ William had read about Lull in Wandalbert of Prüm's mid-ninth-century *Miracula s. Goaris*, so his opinion of the Anglo-Saxon had a Carolingian pedigree.²⁵ Lull's significance was amplified by developments in Anglo-German relations at the time William was writing. In 1110 King Henry I sent his daughter Mathilda to Mainz via Boniface's former mission station at Utrecht (where she would later obtain much land) in order to marry Emperor Henry V.²⁶ At the same time Mathilda's mother asked William to write the *Gesta regum Anglorum* to celebrate the relationship between Malmesbury and her family, which now extended east of the Rhine.²⁷ William's *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, written at the same time, provides further evidence of this renewed interest in the Bonifatian Rhineland, again praising Lull as Boniface's successor and this time adding the story of Fredericus of Utrecht, who continued Boniface's work in the 820s.²⁸ The first references to Lull in English histories therefore coincide neatly with a period when the interaction between dynastic politics and historical writing invigorated the connections between Malmesbury, Mainz and Utrecht. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, then, historians saw Lull as historically significant because he represented connections between certain places from the Bonifatian past that had become meaningful once more.

A quick survey of the sources for Lull confirms just how dependent on Boniface the commemoration of Lull was. In the ninth century his letters were only preserved to build on the Bonifatian past revealed in earlier manuscripts, and even then Lull's significance was likely shaped

²³ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, I.79–84, eds Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, pp. 114–21.

²⁴ Lull, *Die Briefe*, no. 71, ed. Tangl, p. 144; *Die Briefe*, no. 135, ed. Tangl, p. 274.

²⁵ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, I.85, eds Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, pp. 120–1; Wandalbert, *Miracula sanctis Goaris*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH Scriptores* 15.1, pp. 361–73. On William's identifiable ninth-century sources, see R. Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury's Carolingian Sources', *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981), pp. 321–38.

²⁶ K. Leyser, 'England and the Empire in the Early Twelfth Century', in K. Leyser (ed.), *Medieval Germany and Her Neighbours 900–1250* (London, 1982), pp. 191–214, at pp. 192–208; *idem*, 'The Anglo-Norman Succession 1120–25', in T. Reuter (ed.), *Communication and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond* (London, 1994), pp. 97–114.

²⁷ William of Malmesbury, *Epistola*, no. 2, ed. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, pp. 6–9.

²⁸ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, I.6, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, RS (1870), pp. 11–15. Note, however, that Fredericus was a Frisian and not an Anglo-Saxon. William's source was Odbert, *Passio Frederici*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH Scriptores* 15.1, pp. 344–56. Fredericus may have composed the original *Vita altera Bonifatii*, ed. W. Levison, *MGH SRG* 57, pp. 62–8; see J. Romein, 'Wie is de "Presbyter Ultrajectensis"?', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 44 (1929), pp. 373–81.

within the context of Hrabanus's own interest in Boniface's heirs. Lull was only interesting to people in a very narrow geographical and social milieu. When people finally paid Lull literary homage again in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, little had changed with the small exception that it seemed that Malmesbury had quietly remembered their former pupil all along because of his role as Boniface's heir. We should be wary, however, of seeing these sources as confirming that Lull was 'just' Boniface's successor; he had, after all, become entwined with the commemoration of a great martyr. If the years after 754 had really been of no real importance to the Bonifatian past, then it is difficult to see why even Hrabanus would have cared to consider Lull further. As it is, it is necessary to consider in more depth what it means to say that Lull was Boniface's heir.

The cult of Boniface and Lull's literary world

Following Boniface's martyrdom in 754, Lull was quick to promote the martyr's cult to the wider world. Letters soon arrived in Mainz from Archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury, Bishop Milret of Worcester and Bishop Cyneheard of Winchester celebrating the sanctity of their friend.²⁹ Cuthbert reported that the English had already agreed to initiate a cult of Boniface. To capitalize on this interest, Lull commissioned Willibald, an Anglo-Saxon priest living in Mainz, to write a *Vita Bonifatii*: 'you have urged me so', Willibald recalled, 'at the request of religious and catholic men who have heard – in the region of Tuscany, or in the marches of Gaul, or at the portals of Germany, or even in the farthest reaches of Britain – of the brilliant reputation and the many miracles of St Boniface the martyr'.³⁰ Although Lull did not write the *Vita* himself, his correspondence reveals a man keen to obtain a range of books for study in the schools under his care. It is therefore important to see the production of the *Vita* in the wider context of the developing literary world of the Bonifatian centres.

One common assumption, already cautiously repeated above, is that under Lull someone compiled the first collection of Bonifatian letters to help with the writing of the *Vita*. True, Willibald wrote that he had made efforts to research Boniface's life because he had not known him

²⁹ Boniface, *Die Briefe*, nos 11, 12 and 14, ed. Tangl, pp. 238–43, 243–5, 246–7. On the evidence for the early cult of Boniface in England, where he was celebrated as a missionary martyr, see Kehl, *Kult und Nachleben*, pp. 51–5.

³⁰ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, pref., ed. Levison, p. 2: 'Co[m]pulisti enim me . . . petentibus relegiosis ac catholicis viris, quibus vel in Tusciae partibus vel in Germaniae aditibus aut etiam in Britanniae limitibus sancti Bonifatii martyris fama miraculorumque chorscatio prestrepuat . . .'

personally.³¹ But the correlation between Willibald's text and the letters is at best slight. The arch-villains from Boniface's letters – notably Virgil of Salzburg and Gewilib of Mainz – are passed over by Willibald in favour of secular leaders like Hedan of Thuringia, about whom Boniface himself left no surviving comment. Famous stories Willibald told of Boniface, such as the felling of the Oak of Jupiter, find no echoes in the letters. Even on the matter of church synods, which both sources cover, Willibald emphasized the higher principles of correction and said little about the decisions actually embodied in the church records. This does not mean Lull's circle did not use the letters, merely that the *Vita Bonifatii* was built upon principles other than the problematic notion of 'historical record'. Saints' Lives were, of course, the past shaped for a range of devotional, religious and political purposes.³²

Saints' Lives like the *Vita Bonifatii* often functioned within an exegetical framework. The saints were not significant as people per se, but rather because their stories illustrated to audiences universal truths about God's work in the same allegorical manner Scripture did. Each chapter of the *Vita Bonifatii* ended, for example, with a quotation from one of St Paul's epistles to illustrate the spiritual meaning of Boniface's career. For his biblical exegesis, Lull turned to Northumbrian traditions and was keen to obtain Bede's works *De templo* and *In cantica canticorum* from Bede's old home at Wearmouth–Jarrow.³³ He also approached Coena, archbishop of York and its famous library, for Bede's works on Samuel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the gospel of St Mark.³⁴ These particular requests seems to have been inspired by Bede's list of his own works at the end of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, a text which had itself brought Anglo-Saxon history, and particularly its saints, within biblical and allegorical frameworks.³⁵ In pursuing Bede's exegesis, Lull followed a path set down by Boniface, who had made vague appeals to Wearmouth–Jarrow and York for the Northumbrian's work.³⁶ On both sides of the channel, Augustine's argument that recent history was to be

³¹ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, pref., ed. Levison, pp. 2–3: 'sicut discipulis eius secum diu commorantibus vel vobis ipsis referentibus conperirem, prochemium mediumque aut finem vitae eius, quanta valeam indagatione, litteris inseram'.

³² F. Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative', *Viator* 25 (1994), pp. 95–113; I.N. Wood, 'The Use and Abuse of Latin Hagiography in the Early Medieval West', in E. Chrysos and I.N. Wood (eds), *East and West: Modes of Communication* (Leiden, 1999), pp. 93–109.

³³ Lull, *Die Briefe*, no. 126, ed. Tangl, p. 264. Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 140 cited this as proof Lull now had Bede's list of compositions from the *Historia ecclesiastica*, although if so it is unclear why he asked for three books of *De templi* when Bede says he wrote only two.

³⁴ Lull, *Die Briefe*, no. 125, ed. Tangl, pp. 262–3, at p. 263.

³⁵ R.D. Ray, 'Bede, the Exegete, as Historian', in G. Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London, 1976), pp. 125–40.

³⁶ Boniface, *Die Briefe*, nos 75, 76 and 91, ed. Tangl, pp. 158–9, 156–8, 206–8.

treated as an extension of biblical history was highly influential.³⁷ Thus the *Vita Bonifatii* was written to interpret rather than to record the past.

Lull's exegetical-historical interests were also reflected in his other requests. In 764 he sent gifts to Wearmouth-Jarrow in the hope of obtaining Bede's *Vita Cuthberti* in its prose and metrical forms, which shows a wider interest in the literary vehicles for promoting saints' cults.³⁸ Again Boniface had already established a history of seeking such texts from Britain and had notably requested some martyrs' passions from his friend Bugga.³⁹ Lull developed his own unique interests too, asking Coena for some unidentified *libri cosmografiorum*, perhaps those once obtained from Rome by Benedict Biscop.⁴⁰ Amongst Lull's friends this might have influenced the description of a pilgrimage to Greece and the Holy Land by Willibald of Eichstätt, which his sister Hygeburg later incorporated into her own hagiographical composition, the *Vita Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi*, and circulated with the *Vita Bonifatii*.⁴¹ Augustine's influence is again perceptible: he had argued for geographical description as an exegetical tool and in Britain this had inspired Adamnán of Iona and Bede to write descriptions of the Holy Land, which again Bede incorporated into his *Historia ecclesiastica*.⁴² Hagiography had become part of the same project as exegesis. This is not to say, of course, that Lull had had a direct hand in Hygeburg's work. None the less, Lull's role in obtaining works of exegesis and hagiography had contributed greatly to the literary cultures that shaped its intellectual horizons and formed the sources on which the grand reputation of the Anglo-Saxon missions is based.

The literary interests of Lull and Boniface not only dictated the content of the *Vita Bonifatii* and related texts, but also their style. Willibald's prose employed the overly long sentences and heavy alliteration characteristic of the prose of Aldhelm of Malmesbury. In 745 or 746 Lull, remembering his education in Britain, had asked his friend Dealwin at Malmesbury to send him 'some works by Bishop Aldhelm on prose, metre or rhythm'.⁴³ He was sent a couple of letters by the

³⁷ Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, II.42–4, ed. J. Martin, CCSL 32 (Turnhout, 1982), pp. 1–167, at pp. 62–3; Ray, 'Bede, the Exegete, as Historian', p. 132.

³⁸ Lull, *Die Briefe*, no. 116, ed. Tangl, pp. 250–1.

³⁹ Boniface, *Die Briefe*, no. 15, ed. Tangl, pp. 26–7.

⁴⁰ Lull, *Die Briefe*, no. 124, ed. Tangl, p. 261; Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 42.

⁴¹ On Willibald and Hygeburg see: W. Berschin, in his *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter 3. Karolingische Biographie 750–920 n. Chr.*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 10 (Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 18–22; Palmer, 'Constructions of Sanctity', pp. 172–213.

⁴² T. O'Loughlan, 'The Exegetical Purpose of Adamnán's *De locis sanctis*', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 24 (1992), pp. 37–53.

⁴³ Lull, *Die Briefe*, no. 71, ed. Tangl, p. 144: 'Aldhelmi episcopi aliqua opuscula seu prosarum seu metrorum aut rithmicorum.'

bishop, along with a dramatic poem by the otherwise unknown Æthilwald on the dangers and joys of *peregrinatio*, thus providing the Anglo-Saxon community abroad with a poetic expression of their life.⁴⁴ Boniface and Lull both composed their own Aldhelmian verse, Boniface producing a corpus of popular *Ænigmatae* and Lull an octosyllabic poem.⁴⁵ Aldhelm's poetic and theological interests were combined in *De virginitate*, which the community established by Boniface at Würzburg obtained in the eighth century.⁴⁶ In the context of these texts, Lull's compilation of Boniface's letters, infused with the convoluted style of Aldhelmian Latin, complemented the more general creation of the Latin schools in Hesse and Thuringia which gave birth to the *Vita Bonifatii* and the legend of Boniface.

Lull and Carolingian 'Kirchenpolitik'

The intellectual traditions Boniface and Lull established developed firmly within wider trends in early Carolingian *correctio*.⁴⁷ Boniface had called the *Concilium Germanicum* in 742, with Carlomann's authority, to urge changes in the standards in religious living.⁴⁸ To the west, Pippin held his own councils at Les Estinnes and Soissons in 743 and 744 'to restore church laws of customs, doctrine and ministry'.⁴⁹ After Boniface's martyrdom, Lull continued to be involved in similar synods convened by Chrodegang of Metz at Ver in 755, and Attigny in 762.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 751 includes the following Aldhelmian works: Aldhelm, nos 1, 4, 6, 7 and 8, ed. P. Ehwald, *MGH AA 15* (Berlin, 1919), pp. 475–8, 480–6, 494, 495–7 and 497; Æthilwald, *De transmarini itineris peregrinatione*, ed. P. Ehwald, *MGH AA 15*, pp. 528–33.

⁴⁵ Boniface, *Ænigmata*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poetae 1* (Berlin, 1895), pp. 3–23; Lull, *Carmen de conversione Saxonum*, ed. Dümmler, *MGH Poetae 1*, pp. 380–1. Boniface and Lull were also interested in the picture poetry of Optatianus Porfyrius, as exemplified by Boniface's introductory poem to his *Ars grammatica* (ed. Dümmler, *MGH Poetae 1*, pp. 16–17), and Lull's requests to Canterbury for some of Optatianus's own works (Milret, *Die Briefe*, no. 112, ed. Tangl, p. 245). See Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 144–5.

⁴⁶ E.A. Lowe, 'An Eighth-Century List of Books in a Bodleian Manuscript from Würzburg and its Probable Relation to the Laudian Acts', *Speculum* 3 (1928), pp. 3–15, at pp. 8–9.

⁴⁷ On developments in the Carolingian church, see R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms 789–895* (London, 1977); M. de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism: The Power of Prayer', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History II c.700–900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 622–53, at pp. 623–7.

⁴⁸ For summaries of the Bonifatian synods, see W. Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankenreich und in Italien* (Paderborn, 1989), pp. 47–63.

⁴⁹ *Concilium Lifinense*, ch. 1, ed. A. Werminghof, *MGH Concilia 2.1* (Hanover, 1906), pp. 5–7, at p. 7: '... aecclesiastica iura moribus et doctrinis et ministerio recuperare'. *Concilium Suessionense*, ch. 2, ed. A. Werminghof, *MGH Concilia 2.1*, pp. 33–6, at p. 34 makes the same claims.

⁵⁰ *Concilium Vernense*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia 1* (Hanover, 1883), pp. 32–7; *Concilium Atiniacense*, ed. A. Werminghof, *Concilia 2.1*, pp. 72–3. On Chrodegang's synods, see: Schieffer, 'Angelsachsen und Franken', pp. 1456–63; E. Ewig, 'Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung der fränkischen Reichskirche unter Chrodegang von Metz', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 2 (1968), pp. 67–77; *idem*, 'Saint Chrodegang et la réforme de l'église franque', in *Saint Chrodegang* (Metz, 1967), pp. 25–53; Hartmann, *Die Synoden*, pp. 65–82.

To think of these as promulgating a 'programme of reform' – or even separate Bonifatian and Chrodegangian movements – is anachronistic.⁵¹ They do, however, provide a further framework in which Lull orientated the more political aspects of his work and the promotion of the cult of Boniface. Particularly as one of the foremost bishops in the early years of Charlemagne's reign, Lull's career and plans unfolded in the context of Carolingian attempts to regulate and control the church.

Control of Mainz and its diocese to the west

Lull inherited from Boniface an episcopal see and diocese only held by the Anglo-Saxons from late in the 740s. The rise of Lull had, however, been swift.⁵² Letters suggest that he had only met Boniface for the first time in 738 when Lull, on pilgrimage to Rome with his family, was laid low with malaria and thus prevented from returning home.⁵³ He soon recovered and accompanied Boniface to Germany, where he quickly rose through the ranks of Boniface's *collegium* to become his mentor's successor in Mainz. As his death approached, or so Willibald claimed, Boniface drew up plans for the construction of new churches and summoned Lull, saying: 'you, my dear son, must bring to completion the building of the churches that I began in Thuringia. Earnestly recall the people from the paths of error, finish the construction of the basilica in Fulda and bring thither this body of mine now wasted in years.'⁵⁴ Lull carried with him, it seemed, a strong sense of continuing his mentor's work. The *Vita Bonifatii* not only set out Boniface's work, but also the ways in which Lull perceived the continuation of such tasks.

The succession relied much on Boniface's own machinations. Shortly before his retirement in 753, Boniface wrote to Abbot Fulrad of St Denis to ask him to appoint Lull to his ministry: 'I hope', he wrote, 'if God is willing, that in him the priests will have a master, the monks a teacher in the Rule [of Benedict], and the Christian people a faithful preacher and pastor.'⁵⁵ To Lull, this included continuing to play a role in the wider Frankish church: the *Vita Bonifatii* claims Lull succeeded

⁵¹ T. Reuter, "Kirchenreform" und "Kirchenpolitik" im Zeitalter Karl Martells: Begriffe und Wirklichkeit', in J. Jarnut, U. Nonn and M. Richter (eds), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit*, Beihefte der Francia 37 (Sigmaringen, 1994), pp. 35–59.

⁵² Schieffer, 'Angelsachsen und Franken', pp. 1479–82.

⁵³ Lull, *Die Briefe*, no. 98, ed. Tangl, pp. 218–22; Tangl, 'Studien . . . 2', p. 189.

⁵⁴ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 8, ed. Levison, p. 46: 'Sed tu, fili karissime, structuram in Thyringea a me ceptam ecclesiarum ad perfectionis terminum deduc; tu populum ab erroris invio instantissime revoca tuque aedificationem basilicae iam inchoatae ad Fuldan comple ibidemque meum multis annorum curriculum corpus inveteratum perduc.'

⁵⁵ Boniface, *Die Briefe*, no. 93, ed. Tangl, pp. 212–14, at p. 213: 'Et spero, si Deus voluerit, quod in illo habeant presbiteri magistrum et monachi regularem doctorem et populi christiani fidelem predicatorem et pastorem.'

to many of Boniface's duties before 754 because the aged archbishop could no longer attend synods regularly.⁵⁶ But the same letter to Fulrad reveals that Boniface feared his followers would not be allowed to continue his work after he had gone. Much depended on the plans the recently crowned King Pippin III had for Germany.⁵⁷ Thus Boniface, Lull and a number of their closest friends met with Pippin in Düren in May and Attigny in June when, amongst other things, they negotiated the royal confirmation of the privileges of the monastery of Fulda and control over the mission station of Utrecht.⁵⁸ While Boniface set off for his mission in Frisia, Lull returned to Mainz as its new bishop and, as news arrived of Boniface's fate, began promoting the martyr's cult.

The fight for strong religious discipline necessarily involved striving for a foothold in the city of Mainz. It was here that much significant public action occurred, creating a political, economic and social hub for the region.⁵⁹ It was also from amongst the *Macanenses* ('men of Mainz'), however, that Boniface found two of his famous examples of impious episcopal standards: Gerold, and his son Gewilib.⁶⁰ Whether or not the Anglo-Saxons received a frosty reception in the city as a result of this spat, after 754 the proximity of a genuine martyr soon moved many powerful families to make donations to Fulda, often with much ceremony.⁶¹ Lull, however, is scarcely to be seen in these rituals of Mainz city life, either as a listed witness or as a beneficiary (although this may say something about the lack of extant non-royal charters for Hersfeld). Evidence suggests he allied himself with the families of Laidrat and

⁵⁶ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 8, ed. Levison, p. 45.

⁵⁷ It is debatable whether Boniface had a hand in the coronation of Pippin; see: K.-U. Jäschke, 'Bonifatius und die Königssalbung Pippins der Jüngeren', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 23 (1977), pp. 25–54; R. McKitterick, 'The Illusion of Royal Power in the Carolingian Annals', *EHR* 115.460 (2000), pp. 1–20. For counter-arguments, although not convincing ones, see: J. Jarnut, 'Wer hat Pippin 751 zum König gesalbt?', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 16 (1982), pp. 45–57; J. Semmler, 'Bonifatius, die Karolinger und "die Franken"', in D.R. Bauer, R. Hiestand and B. Kasten (eds), *Mönchtum – Kirche – Herrschaft, 750–1000* (Sigmaringen, 1998), pp. 3–49, at pp. 44–6; *idem*, *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751 und die fränkische Königssalbung*, *Studia Humaniora*, Series Minor 6 (Düsseldorf, 2003), p. 41.

⁵⁸ *MGH Diplomatum Carolinorum* 1, nos 4, 5, ed. Mühlbacher, pp. 6–7, 7–8; *Urkundenbuch der Kloster Fulda* 1, no. 20, ed. E.E. Stengel, Veröffentlichungen der historischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck 10, 2 vols (Marburg, 1913–58), pp. 39–43, at pp. 42–3. Witnesses to the Fulda charter include Boniface, Lull, Burchard of Würzburg, Willibald of Eichstätt, Eoba (Boniface's assistant in Utrecht) and Megingoz (the future bishop of Würzburg).

⁵⁹ M. Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley 400–1000*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 47 (Cambridge, 2000); *idem*, 'People, Places and Power in Carolingian Society', in M. de Jong and F. Theuvs (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, The Transformation of the Roman World 6 (Leiden, 2001), pp. 397–437, at pp. 407–11.

⁶⁰ Boniface, *Die Briefe*, no. 60, ed. Tangl, p. 124; Schieffer, *Winfried-Bonifatius*, pp. 130–1, 230–3; F. Staab, "Rudi populo rudis adhuc presul." Zu den wehrhaften Bischöfen der Zeit Karl Martells', in Jarnut, Nonn and Richter (eds), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit*, pp. 249–73, esp. pp. 252–3.

⁶¹ Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 21–2.

Otakar, whose lands lay between Mainz and Bingen.⁶² On 28 August 763, he bought from Laidrat *una area publicum* in Mainz for three pounds of gold and silver from Boniface's treasure (*de pretio sancti Bonifatii martyris*).⁶³ The location was significant: the land he bought was situated within Roman Mainz, within the city walls and between the River Rhine and the *via communis*.⁶⁴ Lull was no longer quite the outsider he had been, and instead now personally owned property that gave him access to the economic and political activity outside the confines of the cathedral. Proximity to the river, meanwhile, opened up Lull's work to the busy trade and communication routes facilitated by the Rhine.⁶⁵ On the same day in 763, he gave Laidrat thirty-seven pounds of gold and silver for land in and around Bingen complete with twenty-two *mancipia*.⁶⁶ Bingen was a Roman fort and an important centre in the early local networks upon which the Merovingian diocese of Mainz had developed.⁶⁷ Lull had literally bought into the political and economic structures which had underpinned the authority of the see of Mainz for generations, giving him the material position with which to engage the *Macanenses*.

Religious standards and society

While developing a firmer hold over the diocese of Mainz, Lull was also concerned to promote religious discipline. In ninth-century Fulda, the priest Megenhart wrote that 'after the most saintly martyr and priest Boniface, [Lull] ruled the people vigorously from the see of Mainz'.⁶⁸ Times were not always easy and sometime after 782 Charlemagne wrote to Lull encouraging him to be firm: the ignorant of heart 'will give, either to the corrections of your paternal admonishments, or to the coercions of the pastor's staff'.⁶⁹ The *Admonitio generalis* in which

⁶² *Urkundenbuch der Kloster Fulda* 1, nos 40–1, ed. Stengel, pp. 68–72.

⁶³ *Urkundenbuch der Kloster Fulda* 1, no. 41, ed. Stengel, pp. 71–2.

⁶⁴ On the medieval development of Mainz, see K. Weidemann, 'Die Topographie von Mainz in der Römerzeit und dem frühen Mittelalter', *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 15 (1968), pp. 146–99, esp. pp. 193–9 on the medieval churches.

⁶⁵ On the evidence for economic activity on the banks of the Rhine in Mainz, see E. Wamers, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Lesefunde aus der Löhrrstrasse (Baustelle Hilton II) in Mainz*, *Mainzer archäologische Schriften* 1 (Mainz, 1994), esp. pp. 194–5 on the *via communis*. For a contemporary Rhineland traveller meeting Lull in Mainz, see Alcuin, *Carmina* 4, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poetae* 1, pp. 220–3, at p. 222; D.A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 16 (Leiden, 2004), pp. 316–18.

⁶⁶ *Urkundenbuch der Kloster Fulda* 1, no. 40, ed. Stengel, p. 70.

⁶⁷ Heinemeyer, *Das Erzbistum Mainz*, pp. 53–7.

⁶⁸ *Ex Megenharti Fuldensis sermone de sancto Ferrucio*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, p. 150: '... post sanctissimum martyrem atque pontificem Bonificium sedis Mogoniacensis strenue rexit populum'.

⁶⁹ Charlemagne, *Epistolae variorum* 22, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epistolae* 4 (Berlin, 1895), p. 532: '... debent vel paterna ammonitione corrigi vel pastorali baculo coherceri'. See Tangl, 'Studien ... 2', p. 182.

Charlemagne attempted to enforce stronger discipline within his church and community was only a few years away.⁷⁰ Lull's correspondence, particularly when cross-referenced with the synods of Boniface and Chrodegang, provide some vivid expressions of how religious 'vigour' was promoted and enforced on the ground. Moreover, it provides an important context in which to read the many passages on these renewed Christian standards in the *Vita Bonifatii*.

Megingoz of Würzburg, the co-addressee of the *Vita Bonifatii*, was keen to support Lull's drive to improve the standards of Christian living.⁷¹ One of only three letters by Megingoz to Lull showed a particular concern over the question of divorce.⁷² He had read a number of authorities, including Augustine and Jerome, but found disagreement over whether divorce was always impermissible or if adultery or forced marriage gave justification to separation. Lull's response is unknown but it is unlikely he considered divorce a just course of action in most cases. Boniface had praised the pagan Wends for perceiving marriage as inviolable to the extent that a woman would commit suicide on her husband's death.⁷³ Willibald brought attention to the suppression under Boniface of lay concubinage, although not the decision at Les Estinnes that 'adulterous and incestuous marriages, which are not legitimate, are to be prohibited and corrected by episcopal authority'.⁷⁴ Boniface was more concerned, Willibald suggested, with condemning and dissolving clerical marriages.⁷⁵ Quite what this emphasis on married clerics and concubines says about post-Bonifatian attitudes to sexual behaviour is unclear, but at Ver in 755 incest was again condemned and it was decreed that all lay marriages should be conducted in public.⁷⁶ The letter of Megingoz's perhaps therefore speaks of persistent difficulties in regulating Christian social behaviour.

Lull's letters do reveal deep concerns with the temptations of the flesh that people from religious houses might face in the outside world. In one case, Lull wrote a letter chastising the abbess Switha for allowing two nuns to leave her care temporarily.⁷⁷ Addressing Switha, he wrote that:

⁷⁰ *Admonito generalis*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 2.1 (Hanover, 1883), pp. 52–63.

⁷¹ On Megingoz's monastic background at the Bonifatian foundation of Fritzlar, see: Boniface, *Die Briefe*, no. 40, ed. Tangl, pp. 64–5; Lupus, *Vita Wighberti*, ch. 5, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH Scriptores* 15.1, pp. 36–43, at pp. 39–40.

⁷² Megingoz, *Die Briefe*, no. 134, ed. Tangl, pp. 272–3.

⁷³ Boniface, *Die Briefe*, no. 73, ed. Tangl, p. 150.

⁷⁴ *Concilium Liftinense*, ch. 3, ed. Werminghof, p. 7: 'adulteria et incesta matrimonia, que non sint legitima, prohibeantur et emendentur episcoporum iudicio'.

⁷⁵ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 7, ed. Levison, p. 40.

⁷⁶ *Concilium Vernense*, chs 9 and 15, ed. Boretius, pp. 35–6.

⁷⁷ Lull, *Die Briefe*, no. 128, ed. Tangl, pp. 265–6.

With the devil's traps of arrogance and the sexual satisfactions of the laity to hand, you permitted them to go freely to the ruin of their souls in distant lands, not recalling that 'if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch [Matthew XV.14]' and that 'the soul that sins shall die [Ezekiel XVIII.4]'.⁷⁸

He then proceeded to excommunicate the sisters (for failing to seek his permission to leave the monastery) and Switha (for not stopping them), and also ordered the two nuns to abstain from bread and water and their abbess from meat and all drink. They were to serve as an example: 'rebuken sinners in the presence of all', Lull wrote, 'that others may have fear [I Timothy V.20]'.⁷⁹ Twice he refers to the violation of 'the discipline of saintly rules', once linking them to the religious life set down by Boniface. Indeed the unregulated wanderings of the female religious was something that had deeply concerned his predecessor. Of women travelling on pilgrimage to Rome, Boniface had commented that 'the greater part perish and few keep their virtue'.⁸⁰ The solution he proposed to Archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury was simply to forbid such travels, although he remained happy for women he knew and trusted to go as a reward for their faith.⁸¹ There was concern for wandering monks too: Meginoz wrote to Lull to seek support in discouraging one of his own relatives from entering the monastic life because he felt that the vow of *stabilitas* would be too hard for this relative to maintain.⁸² In the Frankish synods, the importance of *stabilitas loci* was explicitly juxtaposed with the dangers of fornication and other trappings of lay life.⁸³ To defend the moral fibre of society, the church itself had to be corrected and disciplined.

There are further references to Boniface's 'discipline of saintly rules' as a measure of the religious life in a letter from Lull to his archbishop, Chrodegang of Metz. Lull wrote that:

Without the consent of my predecessor St Boniface or me, his successor, a certain priest [named Enraed], ordained for another parish,

⁷⁸ Lull, *Die Briefe*, no. 128, ed. Tangl, p. 266: '... in laqueum diaboli propter arrogantiam ac voluptatem laicorum explendam ad perditionem animarum suarum liberas ire permiseras in longinquam regionem non recolens illud evangelicum: "Si cecus ceco ducatum praebet, ambo in foveam cadunt", et illud: "Anima, quae peccaverit, ipsa morietur".'

⁷⁹ Lull, *Die Briefe*, no. 128, ed. Tangl, p. 266: "Peccantes coram omnibus argue, ut ceteri timorem habeant."

⁸⁰ Boniface, *Die Briefe*, no. 78, ed. Tangl, p. 169: '... magna ex parte pereunt paucis remanentibus integris'.

⁸¹ D.B. Schneider, 'Anglo-Saxon Women in the Religious Life: A Study of the Status and Position of Women in an Early Medieval Society', Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge (1985), pp. 225–6.

⁸² Meginoz, *Die Briefe*, no. 136, ed. Tangl, pp. 136–7.

⁸³ *Concilium Suessionense*, ch. 3, ed. Werminghof, p. 34.

has been led astray by a certain priest named Willefrith who, moreover, despises your institutional decrees and despises our power in our lawful parish . . . But when he did not . . . wish to repent, correcting the past, he was excommunicated by me in accordance with your newest *canonica institutio*.⁸⁴

The language, as Lull himself hinted, contained strong echoes of the Council of Ver, which supported the bishop's condemnation and excommunication of 'false priests' through its decrees against priests who worked without episcopal permission.⁸⁵ But matters of jurisdiction were just the beginning: Lull names eleven servants Willefrith stole from him 'amongst countless others' at night, and lists a variety of stolen farmyard animals and gold and silver treasures with which Willefrith had also absconded.⁸⁶ The priest threatened the very material basis of Lull's episcopal authority. Boniface himself had needed defence 'from such deceivers' (*contra tales falsarios*), having condemned the heretics Aldebert and Clemens at synods and having had Ansfrid denounced at Pippin III's court.⁸⁷ To prevent further heresies, in 744 Pippin III and his bishops had proscribed regular synods and a strict church hierarchy with priests subject to bishops, and bishoprics subject to metropolitan sees.⁸⁸ While Enraed and Willefrith may not have been heretics themselves, their independence posed a direct challenge to Lull's ability to control his diocese and lead his flock according to the standards he believed to be correct.

Networks of monasteries and royal protection to the east

The decrees of the Carolingian synods created new institutional models in which monasticism functioned. For all Boniface's vigorous standards,

⁸⁴ Lull, *Die Briefe*, no. 110, ed. Tangl, pp. 236–8, at p. 237: ' . . . quod in paccochiam nostram contra ius canonicum a Uuillefritho presbitero quidam adductus est presbiter in alia ordinatus parrochia, non consentiente antecessore meo sancto Bonifatio archiepiscopo neque me successore eius. Qui et institutionis vestrae decreta contemnens et in parrochia nostra constitutus nostrum spreuit magisterium . . . Sed cum nec ita emendatus penitere de praeteritis voluit, novissime secundum canonicam institutionem vestram excommunicatus est a me.'

⁸⁵ *Concilium Vernense*, ch. 8, ed. Boretius, pp. 34–5. A similar decree was made at *Concilium Suessionense*, ch. 5, ed. Werminghof, p. 35.

⁸⁶ Amongst the list of stolen servants is one Theodo, who might be identical with the Theodo Lull bought to work his land around Bingen, thus perhaps giving some indication of where Willefrith and Enraed were.

⁸⁷ *Concilium Suessionense*, chs 2 and 7, ed. Werminghoff, pp. 34–5; Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 7, ed. Levison, p. 40; N. Zeddies, 'Bonifatius und zwei nützliche Rebellen: die Häretiker Aldebert und Clemens', in M.T. Fögen (ed.), *Ordnung und Aufruhr im Mittelalter. Historische und juristische Studien zur Rebellion* (Frankfurt, 1995), pp. 217–63.

⁸⁸ *Concilium Suessionense*, chs 2–3, ed. Werminghof, p. 34; Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 8, p. 43.

the monastic foundations he established were essentially personal institutions that followed 'mixed rules' based upon the *Regula s. Benedicti*.⁸⁹ Independent sacred spaces had been a significant feature of Merovingian monasticism and had supported a range of localized political struggles, making their existence something of a threat to the spread of Carolingian authority.⁹⁰ Frankish bishops agreed at the Council of Ver that all monasteries should be subject to either the king or a bishop.⁹¹ Through *tuitio*, monastic life could be protected and controlled.⁹² The Bonifatian synods had already placed bishops in a position where they were to protect the property of *monasteria*.⁹³ It is perhaps notable that one of the councils to which Willibald compared Boniface's work was the Council of Chalcedon in 451, at which monks were placed under the authority of bishops. Working between Bonifatian ideals and Carolingian politics, Lull carried with him a strong sense of uniting the local episcopal and monastic infrastructure under the cult of Boniface.

A potential problem for Lull was the continuing independence of Boniface's foundation at Fulda. Lull's efforts to bring the monastery under his control are only recorded in the *Vita Sturmi*, written by the Abbot Eigil in the 810s at a time when, once again, the brethren had to assert their right to self-determination in the wake of the unpopular abbacy of Ratgar.⁹⁴ Eigil, who had been made a priest by Lull, portrayed his former bishop as something of villain. Eigil claimed (in contradiction to the *Vita Bonifatii*), that Lull had refused to allow the body of the martyr to be taken from Mainz and buried at Fulda in accordance with Boniface's own instructions.⁹⁵ Only reluctantly, after he had interrogated a deacon who had had a vision of Boniface, did Lull release the

⁸⁹ C. Holdsworth, 'Saint Boniface the Monk', in Reuter, *The Greatest Englishman*, pp. 47–68; J. Semmler, 'Instituta sancti Bonifatii. Fulda im Widerstreit der Observanzen', in G. Schrimpf (ed.), *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*, Fuldaer Studien 7 (Frankfurt, 1996), pp. 79–104.

⁹⁰ P. Fouracre, 'The Origins of the Carolingian Attempt to Regulate the Cult of Saints', in J. Howard-Johnston and P.A. Hayward (eds), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 143–66; J. Semmler, 'Episcopi potestas und karolingische Klosterpolitik', in A. Borst (ed.), *Mönchtum, Episkopat und Adel zur Gründungszeit des Klosters Reichenau* (Sigmaringen, 1974), pp. 305–95.

⁹¹ *Concilium Vernense*, ch. 20, ed. Boretius, p. 36.

⁹² On these developments, see B.H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power Restraint and Privilege in Early Medieval Europe* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 99–114; de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism', pp. 623–7.

⁹³ *Concilium Liftinense*, ch. 2, ed. Werminghof, p. 7.

⁹⁴ P. Kehl, 'Die Entstehungszeit der Vita Sturmi des Eigil. Versuch einer Neudatierung', *Archiv für mittelhessische Kirchengeschichte* 46 (1994), pp. 11–20. On Fuldan reform see: J. Semmler, 'Studien zum Supplex Libellus und zur anianischen Reform in Fulda', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 69 (1958), pp. 268–98; G. Becht-Jördens, 'Die Vita Aegils des Brun Candidus als Quelle zu Fragen aus der Geschichte Fuldas im Zeitalter der anianischen Reform', *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 42 (1992), pp. 19–48.

⁹⁵ Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, ch. 16, ed. Engelbert, pp. 149–50.

body to Sturm, the abbot. As time progressed, Eigil continued, Lull grew envious of Sturm's reputation and convinced Pippin III that the abbot was *de inimicitia regis*.⁹⁶ Accused of these otherwise unspecified political crimes, Sturm was sent to Jumièges for two years (763–5). Mayke de Jong has recently reinterpreted such punishments, not as imprisonment, but as a temporary exile – a 'time-out' within the protection of sacred space to diffuse political tensions.⁹⁷ Indeed, Sturm was not even marched away under guard. Lull imposed his own abbot, Marcus, on Fulda in order to increase his hold on the place, only for the brethren to petition Pippin at court to have Sturm back; faced with a revolt from an important *locus sancti*, Pippin brought Sturm back and informed the abbot he had 'forgotten' what Sturm's crimes had even been.⁹⁸ Thereafter Fulda was a royal abbey completely free from Lull's dominion.

Without Fulda, the cornerstone of Lull's monastic network became Hersfeld. The bishop re-founded the monastery on the site of an early Bonifatian hermitage and set himself up as abbot.⁹⁹ On 5 January 775 at Quierzy, Charlemagne took Hersfeld into his protection and granted the monks the right to choose their abbots without the interference of any bishops, echoing the privileges he had granted Fulda the previous September whilst at Düren.¹⁰⁰ Thereafter Charlemagne made eight land grants to Hersfeld and Lull before 786.¹⁰¹ Such figures compare favourably with Fulda, which received only five royal charters in the same period, and indeed marks Hersfeld out as particularly favoured within the Carolingian kingdom.¹⁰² Lull appears to have been the decisive figure here: when he died in 786 the royal donations to Hersfeld dried up and Fulda began to eclipse its monastic neighbour.

Through the Hersfeld charters, Lull appears as a bishop consolidating his hold on lands east of the Rhine. Here, the boundaries of episcopal

⁹⁶ Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, chs 17–18, ed. Engelbert, pp. 151–3.

⁹⁷ M. de Jong, 'Monastic Prisoners or Opting Out? Political Coercion and Honour in the Frankish Kingdoms', in de Jong and Theuvs, *Topographies of Power*, pp. 291–328, esp. pp. 297–303 and p. 328.

⁹⁸ Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, chs 18–19, ed. Engelbert, pp. 152–5.

⁹⁹ On the Bonifatian foundation see: Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, chs 4–5, ed. Engelbert, pp. 133–5; H. Beumann, *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 2 (1952), pp. 1–15; W. Kratz, 'Die Anfänge des Klosters Hersfeld', *Fuldaer Geschichtsblätter* 41 (1965), pp. 74–87.

¹⁰⁰ The Hersfeld privileges are *MGH Diplomatum Karolinorum*, nos 89, 90, ed. Mühlbacher, pp. 128–9, 130. On the privileges, and whether Hersfeld was a *Reichsgut*, see: Schieffer, 'Angelsachsen und Franken', pp. 1517–18; K.-U. Jäschke, 'Zu den schriftlichen Zeugnissen für die Anfänge der Reichsabtei Hersfeld', *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 107 (1971), pp. 94–135. The Fulda privileges are *Urkundenbuch der Kloster Fulda* 1, no. 68, ed. Stengel, pp. 121–5.

¹⁰¹ *MGH Diplomatum Karolinorum*, nos 103, 104, 105, 121, 126, 129, 142, 144, ed. Mühlbacher, pp. 128–9, 130, 147–8, 148–9, 149–50, 169–70, 175–6, 179–80, 193–4, 195–6.

¹⁰² *Urkundenbuch der Kloster Fulda* 1, nos 73, 74, 77–9, ed. Stengel, pp. 130–7, 137, 140–7.

authority were very much open to renegotiation.¹⁰³ Boniface had planned new bishoprics at Würzburg, Eichstätt, Büraburg and Erfurt early in the 740s, but his plans were hastily redesigned; by the time Willibald wrote the *Vita Bonifatii*, only Würzburg and Eichstätt still functioned.¹⁰⁴ Pope Zacharias refused to accept Erfurt as an episcopal see because he had been told it was an *urbs paganorum rusticorum*.¹⁰⁵ Initially this left the Bonifatian foundation of Ohrdruf, where Lull had been educated for a time, as the principal Christian centre in the area.¹⁰⁶ A number of Charlemagne's gifts began to develop the basis of landholdings for Hersfeld – and thus Lull – in the area, and the fragmented Christian topography of Thuringia acquired some cohesion. To the west of Hersfeld, Lull also extended a hold over the Bonifatian foundations of Büraburg and Fritzlar. Bishop Witta of Büraburg translated the relics of St Wigbert from Fritzlar to Lull's Hersfeld.¹⁰⁷ In 782, Charlemagne supported a land grant from Lull to the church of Fritzlar that helped to affirm Lull's appropriation of the relics.¹⁰⁸ The translation strengthened the spiritual and financial power of Lull's monastery, but also freed Fritzlar for potential development as a Bonifatian cult site. It was there, fifty years earlier, that Boniface had felled the great Oak of Jupiter, an important pagan shrine, and he had used the timber to construct an oratory.¹⁰⁹ The translation of Wigbert's relics followed a Saxon attack on Fritzlar in 774 when the church, according to the *Annales regni Francorum* from Charlemagne's court, was saved by the intervention of Boniface's spirit.¹¹⁰ Through his landholdings and the cult of Boniface, Lull had begun to bring the networks of independent Bonifatian foundations firmly under his control.

When Lull's importance came to be reconsidered in the eleventh century, the tensions evident in the work of Eigil had given way to a renewed appreciation for Lull's institution building. The Mainz *Vita*

¹⁰³ See M. Tangl, 'Das Bistum Erfurt', in Eggert, *Das Mittelalter*, pp. 47–59, at pp. 57–9. Tangl did not, however, note the significance of Hersfeld's other landholdings. It is unclear whether Boniface or Lull abolished Büraburg and Erfurt. In favour of Boniface see: A. Bigelmair, 'Die Gründung des mitteldeutschen Bistümer', in *Sankt Bonifatius*, pp. 247–87, at pp. 282–7. In favour of Lull see: W.H. Fritze, 'Bonifatius und die Einbeziehung von Hessen und Thüringen in die Mainzer Diözese', *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 4 (1954), pp. 37–63.

¹⁰⁴ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 8, ed. Levison, p. 44.

¹⁰⁵ Zacharias, *Die Briefe*, no. 50, ed. Tangl, p. 81.

¹⁰⁶ Lull, *Die Briefe*, no. 103, ed. Tangl, pp. 225–7.

¹⁰⁷ Lupus, *Vita Wigberti*, chs 24–5, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 42–3. Lampert, in the *Vita Lulli*, ch. 17, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 330, was quiet on the role of Witta in order to associate the translation more fully with Lull.

¹⁰⁸ *MGH Diplomatum Karolinorum*, no. 142, ed. Mühlbacher, pp. 193–4.

¹⁰⁹ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 6, ed. Levison, p. 31.

¹¹⁰ *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 774, ed. F. Kurze, *MGH SRG* 6 (Hanover, 1895), p. 15. Lupus later revised the story, telling Abbot Bun of Hersfeld that it was St Wigbert that saved the church: Lupus, *Vita Wigberti*, ch. 19, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 42.

Bonifatii IV defended Lull's initial reluctance to release Boniface's body to Fulda because 'many . . . wished the body of the saint to remain there [in the city]'.¹¹¹ Lull's hesitancy thus appears here to have been a result of considering the needs of a flock he wished to serve. When the deacon recounted his vision, however, Lull quickly moved the body without further questions. Lampert of Hersfeld, Lull's hagiographer, provides a similar account.¹¹² Strikingly, Lampert also condemned Sturm as 'a man of great excellence . . . but excessively violent and ferocious of nature',¹¹³ as perhaps one might have expected from his name. Sturm, he claimed, had used flattery and deception to maintain control over his brethren and had alienated (*alienere*) the Fulda monks against Lull.¹¹⁴ Thus Lull and Pippin were, to Lampert, entirely justified in removing Sturm from office, and it was no good thing that he was allowed to return. It was important to Lampert that Pippin sided with Lull, because one of his prime concerns was how Hersfeld should fit into Emperor Henry IV's *Reichspolitik*.¹¹⁵ Relations between Fulda and Hersfeld had improved since the ninth century, particularly with the abbacy of Ruthard of Fulda, a former monk of Hersfeld, in the 1070s.¹¹⁶ The two monasteries were also at that time still in the dispute with the archdiocese of Mainz which had prompted Otloh's *Vita Bonifatii* a decade earlier. Consequently Lampert was at pains to present Lull as a virtuous archbishop of Mainz and abbot of Hersfeld who was fair in his dealings with Fulda.¹¹⁷ The eleventh-century significance of the Anglo-Saxon lay in the ways he could embody the complex religious relationships in central Germany which he himself had founded; as these connections changed, so too did the historical relevancy of Lull. Whichever way he was to be interpreted, however, it is clear that in striving to fulfil the work of Boniface, Lull gained a reputation for having a strong and distinctive approach to the control of his diocese.

Lull, mission and kings

Mission was central to much of the Anglo-Saxons' continental work in the eighth century. In the *Vita Bonifatii*, Willibald claimed that Boniface, just before his retirement, 'delegated to Burchard [d. 753] the dignified office in the place called Würzburg, putting to his office the

¹¹¹ *Vita Bonifatii IV*, ch. 10, p. 102: 'multi . . . cupiebant sanctorum corpus ibidem remanere'.

¹¹² Lambert, *Vita Lulli*, chs 11–12, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 321–2.

¹¹³ Lambert, *Vita Lulli*, ch. 13, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 323: 'vir excellentis ingenii . . . sed vehementis nimium et ferocis naturae'.

¹¹⁴ Lambert, *Vita Lulli*, ch. 13, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 323–4.

¹¹⁵ Struve, 'Lampert von Hersfeld (B)', p. 70.

¹¹⁶ Struve, 'Lampert von Hersfeld (B)', p. 126; Vogtherr, 'Die Reichklöster', p. 455.

¹¹⁷ Struve, 'Lampert von Hersfeld (B)', pp. 126, 129.

churches within the borders of the Franks and Saxons and Slavs'.¹¹⁸ As the Franks had no real footholds in Saxony or the Slavic lands, this statement probably reflects the early ambitions of Lull and Megingoz to coordinate future missionary work.¹¹⁹ None the less, as Ian Wood has recently argued, mission was not evidently a high priority in the hagiographical traditions which emerged from Mainz, even under Lull.¹²⁰ It is conspicuously easy for modern historians to tell the story of Charlemagne's attempts to convert the Saxons with little mention of Boniface's heirs.¹²¹ The extent to which attitudes to mission had changed under Lull needs to be explored.

The undertaking of missionary work in Frisia and Saxony had been dependent on the military campaigns of successive Carolingian mayors during Boniface's career. Missionaries needed protection, material support and political backing to work safely and make themselves heard.¹²² In his letters, Boniface specifically cited the Saxons as a target for missionary work; he wrote to all Christians 'of the race and lineage of the English' (*de stirpe et prosapia Anglorum*) and beseeched them to pray for the souls of the Saxons because of their common ancestry.¹²³ In doing so he echoed, consciously or not, Bede's account of the origins of the Anglo-Saxon missions, in which the exile Ecgbert had sent Wictberht and Willibrord to Frisia and Saxony to convert the pagans in their ancestral lands.¹²⁴ Like Willibrord, Boniface used Frankish power

¹¹⁸ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 8, ed. Levison, p. 44: '[Bonifatius] Burchardo vero in loco qui appellatur Wirzaburch dignitatis officium delegavit et ecclesias in confinibus Franchorum et Saxonum atque Sclavorum suo officio deputavit . . .'

¹¹⁹ See C.J. Carroll, 'The Archbishops and Church Provinces of Mainz and Cologne during the Carolingian Period, 751–911', Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge (1999), pp. 28–9, in particular criticizing the anachronistic arguments of Schieffer, 'Angelsachsen und Franken', pp. 1519–21 and E. Ewig, *Frühes Mittelalter*, Rheinische Geschichte 1.2 (Düsseldorf, 1980), p. 113.

¹²⁰ Wood, *The Missionary Life*, pp. 57–78.

¹²¹ On Charlemagne's conversion of Saxony, with little reference to Lull, see H. Beumann, 'Die Hagiographie "bewältigt": Unterwerfung und Christianisierung der Sachsen durch Karl den Großen', *Settimane* 23 (Spoleto, 1982), pp. 129–63; A. Angenendt, *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaufe. Kaiser, Könige und Papste als geistliche Patrone in der abendländischen Missionsgeschichte*, Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung 15 (Berlin and New York, 1984); H. Mayr-Harting, 'Charlemagne, the Saxons and the Imperial Coronation of 800', *EHR* 111.444 (1996), pp. 1113–33; U. Nonn, 'Zwangsmission mit Feuer und Schwert? Zur Sachsenmission Karls des Großen', in F.J. Felten (ed.), *Bonifatius – Apostel der Deutschen. Mission und Christianisierung vom 8. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, Mainzer Vorträge 9 (Stuttgart, 2004), pp. 55–74.

¹²² On the importance of kings to missionary work see: C. Stancliffe, 'Kings and Conversion: Some Comparisons between the Roman Mission to England and Patrick's to Ireland', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 14 (1980), pp. 59–94; Angenendt, *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaufe*; M. Richter, 'Practical Aspects of the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons', in P. Ní Chatáin and M. Richter (eds), *Irland und die Christenheit: Bibelstudien und Mission* (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 363–76.

¹²³ Boniface, *Die Briefe*, no. 46, ed. Tangl, pp. 74–5.

¹²⁴ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V.9, eds B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969), pp. 476–7; K. Schäferdiek, 'Fragen der frühen angelsächsischen Festlandmission', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 28 (1994), pp. 172–95.

structures to establish a basis for his mission, but regardless of Frankish involvement the missions were to be more properly a concern for the people of *transmarina Saxonia* in Britain.¹²⁵ Bishop Torthelm of Leicester replied to Boniface's exhortations enthusiastically and agreed to pray, and Willibald claimed that many people from Britain were attracted to the work; many were Mercians like Lull.¹²⁶ Boniface was long dead, however, by the time the Saxon missions were a viable proposition from the 770s onwards and thus it was Lull, working with Charlemagne, who helped bring Boniface's plan to fruition.

Willibald wrote the *Vita Bonifatii*, not during the reign of Charlemagne, but under Pippin III. Saxony was no priority to the king. He made one incursion into Saxon territory, when he successfully captured a number of strongholds around Sythen in 758.¹²⁷ Such a victory might have influenced Willibald's optimistic description of Burchard's authority beyond the Frankish frontiers. But Willibald also accused Pippin of attempting to keep Boniface's relics in Frisia against the saint's (and Lull's) wishes, perhaps for use as a focal point for Christian sentiment in an unsettled region.¹²⁸ The king and the new bishop of Mainz did not entirely see eye to eye on the new cult. They did correspond about the collection of tithes and the difficulties caused by the harsh winter of 763, and Pippin also relayed a story to Lull about a miracle in Dokkum on the site where Boniface had been killed.¹²⁹ The sources are, unfortunately, few and far between, but there is nothing to suggest that Pippin and Lull wanted to, or even could, begin to fulfil Boniface's plans for the conversion of the Saxons.

Pippin's death in 768 and the rise of Charlemagne dramatically improved Lull's position. Charlemagne was interested in both mission and Boniface's cult, and his 'Godescalc calendar' included both the martyr's name and that of St Kilian, whose cult Boniface had founded in Würzburg, in the court's devotional cycle.¹³⁰ There is, however, no suggestion that Lull himself worked as a missionary. In Lampert's *Vita Lulli*, for example, little is said about Saxony, just that Hersfeld was too close to the Saxon border for Boniface's liking and, quoting Einhard, that Charlemagne had struggled to subjugate the Saxons.¹³¹ Lull may

¹²⁵ Lull, Denehard and Burchard, *Die Briefe*, no. 50, ed. Tangl, p. 84.

¹²⁶ Torthelm, *Die Briefe*, no. 47, ed. Tangl, pp. 75–6; Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 6, ed. Levison, p. 34; McKitterick, 'Anglo-Saxon Missionaries', pp. 23–4, 27.

¹²⁷ *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 758, ed. Kurze, pp. 6–7.

¹²⁸ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 8, ed. Levison, p. 53.

¹²⁹ Pippin, *Die Briefe*, no. 118, ed. Tangl, p. 254. Willibald, ch. 9, *Vita Bonifatii*, ed. Levison, p. 56.

¹³⁰ *Karls des Grossen Kalendarium und Ostertafel*, ed. F. Piper (Berlin, 1858), pp. 25–6; Kehl, *Kult und Nachleben*, pp. 77–9. The inclusion of Kilian as the only martyr from the Merovingian period perhaps makes a significant statement about perceptions of sanctity at the Carolingian court.

¹³¹ Lampert, *Vita Lulli*, chs 14–15, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 326–8. Boniface's opinion of Hersfeld is first mentioned in Eigil's *Vita Sturmii*, ch. 6, ed. Engelbert, p. 138.

have advised Charlemagne and offered organizational support.¹³² But it is doubtful that Lull was responsible for Charlemagne's policy of forcibly converting the Saxons: Charlemagne's main concern was defence of the region, rather than mission per se, because the Saxons continued to raid his territories.¹³³ Hersfeld is thought to have been a base for missions to the Saxons because of its proximity to the mission field and because of Charlemagne's own interest in the foundation;¹³⁴ but no evidence confirms the direct involvement of Hersfeld and, as Charlemagne moved into Saxony, new centres like *Urbs Karoli* (Paderborn) were established instead.

In the context of Saxony, two letters to Lull from the otherwise unknown priest Wigbert are of great interest. Wigbert worked 'in the region of our people, i.e. the Saxons' where many desired the help of the Lord and had listened to his 'long sermons'.¹³⁵ About to travel home to Britain and unsure of coming back, he encouraged Lull to continue his work. Once in Britain, Wigbert wrote to Lull again and revealed that he was doing his best to promote Lull's work, although he noted happily that it was already well known.¹³⁶ As a result of Wigbert's activities, Lull's friends and family back home decided to pray for the living and dead named in a list sent by Lull which they copied into a document in their church. King Alchred of Northumbria referred to the receipt of a similar list in a letter to Lull dated 771x774, and Lull also attached a list, now lost, to one of his book requests to Coena of York.¹³⁷ From Boniface's native Wessex, meanwhile, King Cynewulf sought to establish similar ties with Lull, as did King Æardwulf of Kent and Bishop Æardulf of Rochester.¹³⁸ Networks of confraternal commemoration ensured that the efforts of missionaries would not be forgotten. Indeed, the martyrdom of St Boniface and the defeat of the Old Saxons were amongst the few continental events recorded in early Anglo-Saxon annals.¹³⁹ Whether prayer communities resulted in any more tangible support for Lull is, however, unclear: Alchred sent the

¹³² R. Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe: From Paganism to Christianity 371–1386AD* (London, 1997), pp. 215–17. On Charlemagne's conversion of Saxony see H. Beumann, 'Die Hagiographie "bewältigt": Unterwerfung und Christianisierung der Sachsen durch Karl den Großen', *Settimane* 23 (Spoleto, 1982), pp. 129–63; H. Mayr-Harting, 'Charlemagne, the Saxons and the Imperial Coronation of 800', *EHR* 111 (1996), pp. 1113–33.

¹³³ Beumann, 'Die Hagiographie "bewältigt"', pp. 150–62.

¹³⁴ Schieffer, 'Angelsachsen und Franken', pp. 1519–21; Angenendt, *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaufe*, p. 214.

¹³⁵ Wigbert, *Die Briefe*, no. 137, ed. Tangl, p. 276: 'in regione gentis nostrae, id est Saxonorum'.

¹³⁶ Wigbert, *Die Briefe*, no. 138, ed. Tangl, pp. 277–8.

¹³⁷ Alchred, *Die Briefe*, no. 121, ed. Tangl, p. 257; Lull, *Die Briefe*, no. 125, ed. Tangl, p. 263.

¹³⁸ Æardwulf and Æardulf, *Die Briefe*, no. 122, ed. Tangl, pp. 258–9; Cynewulf, *Die Briefe*, no. 139, ed. Tangl, pp. 278–9.

¹³⁹ J. Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c.750–870*, *Studies in Early Medieval Britain* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 96–7.

bishop twelve cloaks and a gold ring, Wigbert wrote vaguely of sending 'useful' things, but otherwise only St Willehad is known to have joined missionary efforts in Saxony at this time.

Alchred's involvement in the missions at this point extends the royal contexts within which Lull and the missions worked. The king's letter to Lull seems closely related to two letters from Eanwulf, a Northumbrian abbot, one congratulating Charlemagne directly for his successes in Saxony, and the other thanking Lull for some writings and establishing another confraternal relationship.¹⁴⁰ These letters seem to reveal some moral support developing between the Northumbrians and Franks over the Saxon campaigns, perhaps fostered by Lull and Wigbert. It remained unclear from where precisely episcopal authority in Saxony was to come from, and in 767 Aluberht, the first bishop of the Old Saxons, was consecrated by Ælberht of York rather than a Frankish bishop. The return of Aluberht to the continent might even provide a context in which the letters of Alchred and Eanwulf were carried to Lull.¹⁴¹ St Willehad is a significant figure here. He was related to St Willibrord and Alcuin of York, which suggests a strong family interest in mission.¹⁴² According to the ninth-century Bremen *Vita Willehadi*, Willehad obtained dispensation to preach to the Frisians and Saxons from King Alchred and then worked for Charlemagne, eventually becoming the first bishop of Bremen.¹⁴³ When Adam of Bremen came to write his *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* in the 1070s he omitted to mention Alchred's role, but he did include a forged charter which claimed that Charlemagne had later had Lull consecrate Willehad as bishop.¹⁴⁴ This was mentioned neither in the ninth-century *vita* nor by Lampert – probably because Lull died in 786 and Willehad was appointed in 787 – and it probably relates to attempts to justify claims to land once owned by Mainz.¹⁴⁵ Both Adam and Willehad's anonymous ninth-century hagiographer were keen, however, to establish the passion of St Boniface as the foremost inspiration behind Willehad's missionary zeal.¹⁴⁶ If Willehad's mission was the product of interaction

¹⁴⁰ Eanwulf, *Die Briefe*, nos 119–20, ed. Tangl, pp. 254–7; Tangl, 'Studien . . . 2', p. 181.

¹⁴¹ Story, *Carolingian Connections*, p. 53.

¹⁴² Thiofrid, *Vita Willibrordi*, ch. 29, ed. A. Poncelet, *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. 3 (Brussels, 1910), pp. 459–83, at p. 477.

¹⁴³ *Vita Willehadi*, ch. 1, ed. A. Poncelet, *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. 3, pp. 842–3. There is much debate on whether the *vita* was composed in Echternach or Bremen – in favour of Bremen see Palmer, 'Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii*', pp. 240–1; in favour of Echternach see G. Niemeyer, 'Die Herkunft der *Vita Willehadi*', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 12 (1956), pp. 17–35 and Wood, *The Missionary Life*, pp. 90–1.

¹⁴⁴ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, I.xi (12), ed. B. Schmeidler, *MGH SRG* 2 (Hanover, 1917), pp. 17–20.

¹⁴⁵ Compare the account of the consecration in the *Vita Willehadi*, ch. 8, ed. Poncelet, p. 845.

¹⁴⁶ *Vita Willehadi*, ch. 2, ed. Poncelet, p. 843; Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis*, I.x–xi (11–12), ed. Schmeidler, pp. 10–12.

between Lull, Alchred and Charlemagne, then it is significant that the cult of Boniface was considered to be such a meaningful part of it given Lull's broader ambitions as the heir of Boniface.

Despite close connections between the Saxon and Frisian mission fields, the place of Frisia within Lull's Bonifatian work remained unclear and it was instead developed by others.¹⁴⁷ With Alchred's permission, Willehad began his work from the church in Dokkum which was built on the spot where Boniface had died.¹⁴⁸ Adam of Bremen later claimed, with no apparent historical authority, that Willehad spent time with Liudger, the Frisian founder of Dokkum's church.¹⁴⁹ Liudger was certainly well connected: a pupil of Gregory of Utrecht's (another graduate of Boniface's school), he travelled to Alchred's Northumbria with Aluberht to seek tutelage under Alcuin, and later founded churches at Werden and Münster with Charlemagne's patronage.¹⁵⁰ When studying the influence of Lull on the cult of Boniface it is striking that Liudger seemed completely uninterested in him. In his *Vita Gregorii* (written c.800), Liudger wrote of Lull only that: '[He] lived in the metropolitan city of Mainz with the greater parts east of the Franks, which constituted the parish [*parochia*] of that city.'¹⁵¹ It is an innocuous statement in its own right, but it is the first part of a list of the people who continued Boniface's work, all of whom receive glowing epithets like *venerabilis pater* (Megingoz) and *electus Dei antistes* (Willibald of Eichstätt).¹⁵² Despite the overlapping circles in which Lull, Liudger and Willehad had worked, for some reason no one in Frisia or Saxony cared to remember Lull with any fondness.

In part, a dispute over the relationship between Utrecht and Mainz might account for Frisian attitudes to Lull. Boniface had sought to wrestle control of Utrecht from the diocese of Cologne in order to further his own missionary plans for Frisia, which he claimed Agilolf of

¹⁴⁷ On the difficulties of distinguishing Frisia from western Saxony see: S. Lebecqz, *Marchands et navigateurs Frisons du haut moyen âge* 1 (Lille, 1983), pp. 101–5; I.N. Wood, 'Before or After Mission: Social Relations Across the Middle and Lower Rhine in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', in I.L. Hansen and C. Wickham (eds), *The Long Eighth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand*, The Transformation of the Roman World 11 (Leiden, 2000), pp. 149–66; W.S. van Egmond, 'Converting Monks: Missionary Activity in Early Medieval Frisia and Saxony', in G. Armstrong and I.N. Wood (eds), *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, International Medieval Research 7 (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 37–45.

¹⁴⁸ *Vita Willehadi*, ch. 2, ed. Poncelet, p. 843.

¹⁴⁹ Adam, *Gesta Hammaburgensis*, I.xi (12), ed. Schmeidler, p. 13. On the shared interests of Willehad and Liudger in the cult of Boniface, see Kehl, *Kult und Nachleben*, pp. 58–60.

¹⁵⁰ Altfrið, *Vita Liudgeri*, I.9, I.11, I.21, I.23, ed. W. Diekamp, *Die Vitae Sancti Liudgeri*, Die Geschichtsquellen des Bistums Münster (Münster, 1881), pp. 1–53, at pp. 13–14, 16–17, 24–5, 28.

¹⁵¹ Liudger, *Vita Gregorii*, ch. 5, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH Scriptores* 15.1, pp. 63–79, at pp. 71–2: 'Lullus Magontiam metropolitanam civitatem cum maxima parte orientalium Francorum, qui in parrochia urbis illius constituti sunt, incoluit.'

¹⁵² Liudger, *Vita Gregorii*, ch. 8, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 72.

Cologne (d. 753) was hindering.¹⁵³ Lull joined in Boniface's indignation and, in a letter to Gregory of Utrecht, he ranted about *homines intolerabile* and the *novus fantasma episcopus* in Cologne.¹⁵⁴ Gregory and Lull had likely been friends since 739, when they had both been in Rome with Boniface. But in 777 Gregory's friend Alberic, another Anglo-Saxon, approached Riculf of Cologne rather than Lull to seek consecration as bishop of Utrecht.¹⁵⁵ There is no sign of dissent from Mainz. Lull had, of course, been keen to remove the body of the martyred Boniface away from Utrecht for use in the Middle Rhine Valley and Saxony; if control of Utrecht was in dispute, there was every chance that Lull could lose influence over the cult if Boniface's body remained there. The relationship between the cult of Boniface and Lull's church control was tempered by pragmatism. Frisia remained meaningful as the region in which Boniface died, as Willibald was keen to portray, but it is also made clear in the *Vita Bonifatii* that the martyr's duty was towards *Germania* in accordance with the instructions of Popes Gregory II and Gregory III.¹⁵⁶ The important frontier to Lull was in *Germania*, as is perhaps reflected by the sparing references to Frisia in the Bonifatian letter collections.

Quite where Slavic mission fitted into Lull's plans is unclear. No source other than the *Vita Bonifatii* suggests Boniface was interested in converting the Slavs. With the retirement of Meginoz in 768 and the successes in Saxony, the Slavic mission fields soon became the focus for the evangelical work of Virgil of Salzburg and Arno, Virgil's successor and a close friend of Alcuin's.¹⁵⁷ The Irishman had had several disputes with Boniface but his relationship with the Anglo-Saxons in Germany after 754 was positive.¹⁵⁸ The presence of Lull and Willibald of Eichstätt in Virgil's *Liber vitae*, on the same page as Charles Martell, Carlomann and Pippin III, further suggests Virgil's respect for his Anglo-Saxon neighbours. Arbeo of Freising, Virgil's friend, produced *vitae* that in part renegotiated with Lull's circle precisely what the significance of Boniface was to Bavaria, but it is also from eighth-century Freising that the earliest extant manuscript of Willibald's *Vita Bonifatii* and Hygeburg's *Vita Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi* – Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,

¹⁵³ Boniface, *Die Briefe*, no. 109, ed. Tangl, pp. 234–6; M. Mostert, 'Bonifatius als geschiedvervalser', *Madoc: Tijdschrift over de Middeleeuwen* 9.3 (1995), pp. 213–21.

¹⁵⁴ Lull, *Die Briefe*, no. 92, ed. Tangl, pp. 209–12; Tangl, 'Studien . . . 2', p. 191.

¹⁵⁵ Altfred, *Vita Liudgeri*, I.17, ed. Diekamp, p. 21.

¹⁵⁶ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 5, ed. Levison, p. 25.

¹⁵⁷ *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, chs 2–8, ed. H. Wolfram, *Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum. Das Weissbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die Erfolgreiche Mission in Karantanien und Pannonien* (Vienna, 1979), pp. 34–59, at pp. 40–9; Alcuin, *Epistolae*, nos 107, 112, 113, ed. E. Dümmmler, *MGH Epistolae* 4 (Berlin, 1895), pp. 153–4, 162–3, 163–6.

¹⁵⁸ P.P. Ó'Neill, 'Bonifaz and Virgil: Konflikt zweier Kulturen', in H. Dopsch and R. Juffinger (eds), *Virgil von Salzburg, Missionar und Gelehrter* (Salzburg, 1985), pp. 76–83.

Clm 1086 – comes.¹⁵⁹ Würzburg's hagiographical traditions soon dovetailed with those from Mainz and Freising.¹⁶⁰ Nowhere, unsurprisingly, did Boniface's dislike of Virgil pass explicitly into the writing of history in the Carolingian period. The *Vita Bonifatii* may only hint at the fleeting missionary ambitions of Boniface's heirs in Germany, but in doing so it underlines once more how the story of St Boniface owes so much of its form to the changing world of Lull.

Conclusion

Lull's achievements, although scarcely matching those of St Boniface, have quietly had a powerful effect on medieval history. His cult of St Boniface, especially through the *Vita Bonifatii*, became one of the most influential east of the Rhine and established the Anglo-Saxon missions as a decisive movement at the dawn of the Carolingian age. As a Carolingian bishop, Lull's work marked him out as a figure of religious vigour, following the canons set down by Boniface and Chrodegang with diligence and running his diocese carefully in accordance with Bonifatian ideals and Carolingian *Kirchenpolitik*. Lull could not continue to work as an outsider, as Boniface had often done, and so he bought into local power structures along the Rhineland. He brought the independent foundations of Herfeld, Fritzlar and Erfurt under his personal authority and developed a degree of influence along the border with Saxony. Only Fulda remained beyond his reach despite convincing Pippin III, already wary of unregulated monasteries, to depose the Bavarian abbot Sturm. The nature of Lull's career prompted debate, albeit sporadically, of which only echoes can now be found from the work of Eigil and Hrabanus through to that of Lampert of Hersfeld three hundred years later. It is perhaps because of this debate that no real cult developed around the commemoration of Lull. But, as Lampert suggests, Lull was significant for taking the legacy of St Boniface and creating a more integrated religious infrastructure in Hesse and Thuringia within which Boniface's standards and ideas could be effectively promoted.

The vigorous rule of Lull perhaps explains why the Boniface of the *Vita Bonifatii* was not quite the same Boniface evident in the letters. In the first place, the *Vita* was not the product of historical investigation, but rather of the intellectual environment Lull created in Mainz through the acquisition of exegetical and semi-historical works and literary curiosities. A hagiographical Boniface also had to speak to audiences

¹⁵⁹ Wood, *The Missionary Life*, pp. 157–8.

¹⁶⁰ Wood, *The Missionary Life*, pp. 160–1; Palmer, 'Constructions of Sanctity', pp. 244–5.

present and future about the ways the Bonifatian past related to their own times. Immediately, Lull's relationship with Mainz and Salzburg meant figures like Virgil and Gewilib were less pertinent threats to the Carolingians than Aldebert or Duke Hedan, and the *Vita Bonifatii* reflects this. Lull's keenness to assert that Mainz and Fulda were the principal Bonifatian cult sites, rather than Utrecht and Dokkum, perhaps obscures the nature of Boniface's interests in Frisia before 754. With Pippin's successes in Saxony in 758, Megingoz's Würzburg was well placed to be cast by Willibald as the centre from which future mission could come by the alleged order of Boniface. By 786, Lull's commemorative activities had established the Bonifatian past as a present concern for the new Carolingian regime, interested in mission and ecclesiastical order. As times continued to change, Boniface's achievements, and therefore also Lull's, had to be re-evaluated by new writers in new circumstances. In the end, Boniface and Lull as saints were properly the constructions of Carolingian interests, their lives and ideas recorded and edited as expressions of the way the world they wanted to change developed in the centuries that followed.

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